

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 151742Z APR 76
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE PRIORITY 9402
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 2953

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EXDIS

IO FOR ASST SECY LEWIS AND ALISON PALMER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ILO PORG
SUBJ: ILO: DRAFT REPORT ON MISSION OF PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY

REF: (A) STATE 259502, (B) STATE 259540

1. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN HAS APPROVED FOLLOWING REPORT
IN DRAFT. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO DRAW ON IT AS APPROPRIATE FOR
INSTRUCTIONS/BACKGROUND MESSAGES TO FIELD POSTS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN CONSULTATIONS AT CAPITALS FROM JANUARY 26 THROUGH APRIL 7,
AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN, US PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY FOR ILO AFFAIRS,
EXPLAINED US-ILO POLICY TO FORMINS AND LAB MINS OF FOLLOWING
INDUSTRIALIZED MEMBERS OF ILO: FRG, LUXEMBOURG, UK, FRANCE,
NORWAY, ITALY, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, NETHERLANDS,
BELGIUM AND DENMARK. THRUST OF AMB SILBERMAN'S PRESENTATION
WAS THAT US HAD MADE DECISION--NOT IRREVOCABLE--TO WITHDRAW
FROM ILO UNLESS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES ALONG LINES IN US LETTER OF
INTENT TO WITHDRAW WERE BROUGHT ABOUT. AMB SILBERMAN OUTLINED
ISSUES COMING UP THIS YEAR ON WHICH US DESIRES COOPERATION
BUT STRESSED THAT US WAS NOT LOOKING FOR SHORT-TERM
ACCOMMODATION: CRUCIAL US OBJECTIVE IS ALLIANCE OF INDUSTRIALIZED
DEMOCRACIES TO DEFEND BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ILO, ESPECIALLY
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TRIPARTITISM, FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION

AND UNIFORM APPLICATION OF ILO CONVENTIONS.

3. SILBERMAN PRESENTATION IS INTENDED TO SHOW THAT US CONSIDERS ILO IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE TO BE TREATED AT CABINET LEVEL BY FONMIN AS WELL AS LABOR MIN. AMB SILBERMAN EMPHASIZED THAT ILO "TOO IMPORTANT TO BE LEFT IN THE HANDS OF BUREAUCRATS OR TECHNICIANS" WHO HAVE UP TO NOW HAD MAJOR SAY IN FORMULATING POLICY FOR US AND OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED MEMBER GOVERNMENTS.

4. MAJOR POINTS OF SILBERMAN PRESENTATION ARE:

A) THAT US-ILO POLICY REPRESENTS UNIFIED POSITION OF USG, US EMPLOYERS AND US WORKERS AND IS NOT SIMPLE REFLECTION OF AFL-CIO POSITION OR PLOY WHICH WILL CHANGE AFTER NOVEMBER PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN US.

B) IN ITS OWN INTEREST, US HAD MADE DECISION--NOT IRREVOCABLE-- BUT NEVERTHELESS DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM ILO (REF B). UNLESS TRENDS OUTLINED IN US NOTICE OF INTENT ARE REVERSED BY NOV 1977, US WILL BE OUT OF ILO.

C) US DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN SERIOUSLY AND WILL FULL RECOGNITION OF IMPLICATIONS FOR REST OF UN SYSTEM AND FOR US RELATIONS WITH INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES.

D) US IS SEEKING ALLIANCE WITH INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES AND OTHER LIKE MINDED MEMBERS OF ILO WHICH WILL ATTEMPT TO TURN THE ILO BACK TO ITS BASIC PURPOSES OF PROMOTING FREE TRADE UNIONISM AND BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS FOR THE WORKING MAN. IF THE US FINDS ITSELF ISOLATED IN THIS STRUGGLE OR WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT FROM ITS NATURAL ALLIES, THE US IS PREPARED TO LEAVE ILO IN NOV 1977. THE US IS NOT ASKING FOR SHORT-TERM ACCOMMODATION OR CONCESSIONS FROM ITS ALLIES; IT IS ASKING THEM IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS TO DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN ILO. THE WORST POSSIBLE OUTCOME FOR US WOULD BE SHORT-TERM ACCOMMODATION BY INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES (DESIGNED TO GET US TO WITHDRAW OUR NOTICE OF INTENT) AND REVERSION TO PRESENT SITUATION WHERE THEY WINK AT EROSION OF BASIC ILO VALUES.

E) US IS "UNALTERABLE OPPOSED" TO ELECTION OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES TO MAJOR OFFICES IN ILO; SPECIFICALLY TO CHAIRMANSHIP OF ILO GOVERNING BODY, AND TO PRESIDENCIES OF ILO ANNUAL CONFERENCE, WORLD EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE, AND OCTOBER SESSION CONFIDENTIAL

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OF MARITIME CONFERENCE. US SUPPORTS FRG CANDIDATE (HAASE) FOR CHAIRMAN OF ILO GB AND FOR CONFERENCE PRESIDENCY US WILL SUPPORT NON-COMMUNIST CANDIDATE SELECTED BY WESTERN EUROPEANS. IF WE UNABLE TO AGREE ON GOVERNMENT CANDIDATE, US WOULD SUPPORT CANADIAN WORKER REP, JOE MORRIS, PROVIDING HE IS AVAILABLE. F) ON MATTERS OF STRUCTURE US POSITION IS TO MAINTAIN UNIQUE TRIPARTITE ORGANIZATION OF ILO AND THE AUTONOMY OF THE WORKER AND EMPLOYER GROUPS. WE ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED THAT THE

ILO MIGHT GO ALONG WITH SOVIET DESIRE FOR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF BG SEATS WHICH WOULD PAVE WAY FOR EE TO "TAKE TURN" AS CHAIRMAN OF ILO GOVERNING BODY AND WHICH COULD FORCE EMPLOYERS GROUP TO "ELECT" EE EMPLOYERS TO REPRESENT THEM IN VARIOUS ILO ACTIVITIES. US IS NOT OPPOSED TO PROPOSALS WHICH MIGHT AFFORD BETTER REPRESENTATION IN ILO GB FOR MORE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA; HOWEVER NO PROPOSALS HAVE YET BEEN MADE THAT DO NOT INVOLVE UNACCEPTABLE GEOGRAPHIC FORMULA. US OPPOSITION TO CHANGE NOT BASED ON DEFENSE OF PRIVILEGE (FOR CHIEF STATES OF INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE OR FOR INDUSTRIALIZED MEMBERS) BUT ON ASSESSMENT THAT ALL CHANGES PROPOSED SO FAR WOULD ERODE ABILITY OF ILO MEMBERS CONCERNED ABOUT TRIPARTISM TO RESIST FUTURE PRESSURE FOR CHANGE. IN ORDER TO DISCOURAGE GROUP OF 77 AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FROM EXPECTING SIGNIFICANT STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN ILO, US HAS URGED CHIEF STATES OF INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE TO MAKE "POLITICAL DECISION" TO USE VETO POWER AGAINST UNDESIRABLE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

G) US DOES NOT BELIEVE ILO SHOULD BE FORUM FOR CONDEMNATION OF POLITICAL SCAPEGOATS; US POSITION IS THAT CONDEMNATIONS OF ILO MEMBER STATES SHOULD OCCUR ONLY AFTER ESTABLISHED ILO INVESTIGATORY PROCEDURES HAVE DETERMINED THAT ILO CONVENTIONS HAVE BEEN VIOLATED.

H) US OPPOSES DOUBLE STANDARD UNDER WHICH SOME COUNTRIES ARE CONDEMNED FOR VIOLATION OF ILO CONVENTIONS AND, OTHERS (NOTABLY THE EASTERN EUROPEANS) ARE NOT. IF ILO IS TO BE VIABLE ORGANIZATION IT MUST APPLY ITS OWN PRINCIPLES WITHOUT HYPOCRISY ACROSS THE BOARD.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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P R 151742Z APR 76
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE PRIORITY 9403
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 2953

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IO FOR ASST SECY LEWIS AND ALISON PALMER

5. FOLLOWING ARE PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS PUT TO AMB SILBERMAN AND SUBSTANCE OF HIS REPLIES. QUESTIONS CLUSTERED AROUND FOLLOWING TOPICS: US OPPOSITION TO ELECTION OF COMMUNISTS TO IMPORTANT ILO OFFICES; CONNECTION BETWEEN US POLICY IN ILO AND POLICY OF DETENTE WITH USSR; EFFECTS OF US WITHDRAWAL ON ILO AND UN SYSTEM; DEGREE AND NATURE OF SUPPORT US ASKING FROM ITS ALLIES; AND US FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO ILO.

A) DOES US INTEND THAT EASTERN EUROPEANS BE GIVEN "SECOND CLASS" MEMBERSHIP IN ILO? (REPLY) BASIC DILEMMA IN ILO IS CONFLICT BETWEEN PRINCIPLES OF TRIPARTITISM AND UNIVERSALITY. US POSITION IS THAT PRIORITY IN ILO MUST BE ON TRIPARTITISM AND NOT UNIVERSALITY. THUS ILO IS DIFFERENT FROM REST OF UN, WHERE STANDARD OF UNIVERSALITY ALLOWS EE TO TAKE TURN AT CERTAIN OFFICES. MOREOVER, ALTHOUGH EASTERN EUROPEANS HAD ACCEPTED CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS WHEN THEY ENTERED ILO IN 1954, THEY HAVE DONE LITTLE SINCE TO MEET THESE OBLIGATIONS; ON THE CONTRARY, THEY HAVE USED THE ILO AS A FORUM TO EXPRESS THEIR IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITION TO TRIPARTITISM. THEREFORE IT IS INAPPROPRIATE AND EVEN FOOLISH FOR ILO TO COMPROMISE ITS PRINCIPLES AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE EE. B) IS US OPPOSITION TO ELECTION OF EASTERN EUROPEANS INTENDED FOR A LIMITED PERIOD OF TIME? UNITED STATES OPPOSITION IS BASED ON PRINCIPLE, AND WILL CHANGE ONLY WHEN PROGRESS IS CONFIDENTIAL

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MADE IN EASTERN EUROPE TOWARD DEVELOPMENT OF TRUE TRIPARTITE INSTITUTIONS.

C) HOW WOULD ELECTION OF EASTERN EUROPEANS TO HIGH OFFICE IN ILO ERODE PRINCIPLE OF TRIPARTITISM? US CONSIDERS ELECTION OF COUNTRIES WHICH ARE IDEOLOGICALLY OPPOSED TO TRIPARTITISM AND FREE TRADE UNIONISM AS SYMBOLIC HONOR AND AS CLEAR SIGN THAT THESE FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES ARE NO LONGER CONSIDERED IMPORTANT IN ILO.

D) DOES OPPOSITION TO ELECTION OF EASTERN EUROPEANS MEAN US ALSO OPPOSES ELECTION OF LDCS, MANY OF WHOM DO NOT HAVE FREE TRADE UNIONS? US DRAWS DISTINCTION BETWEEN ON ONE HAND, IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITION BY EASTERN EUROPEANS TO FREE TRADE UNIONISM AND TRIPARTITISM, AND ON THE OTHER, MOST LDCS WHO RECOGNIZE THESE PRINCIPLES AS GOALS TO BE ACHIEVED DURING LATTER STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. BY THIS STANDARD, US WOULD OPPOSE ELECTION OF CHILEANOR YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVES.

E) HOW IS IDEOLOGICAL FIGHT WITH USSR ON ILO PRINCIPLES COMPATIBLE WITH POLICY OF DETENTE AND US GRAIN SALES TO SOVIETS? US DISTINGUISHES MILITARY DETENTE WITH USSR WHICH IS ESSENTIAL IN NUCLEAR AGE AND MUTUALLY PROFITABLE TRADING

WITH SOVIETS, FROM "IDEOLOGICAL DETENTE". THE SOVIETS HAVE CLEARLY SAID THAT DETENTE DOES NOT EXTEND TO IDEOLOGY. F) HAS US CONSIDERED NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF ITS WITHDRAWAL ON ILO AND ON OTHER UN AGENCIES? US HAS CAREFULLY CALCULATED IMPLICATIONS AND DECIDED IN ITS OWN INTEREST TO LEAVE ILO IF THE TRENDS SET OUT IN US NOTICE OF INTENT ARE NOT ARRESTED.(AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN DID NOT GO INTO DETAIL ON US CALCULATIONS).

G) WILL NOT US WITHDRAWAL TRIGGER SIMILAR WITHDRAWALS BY OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED MEMBER COUNTRIES AND RESULT IN SIGNIFICANT DECLINE OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN ILO? US BELIEVES THAT WORST POSSIBLE SITUATION IS NOT AN ILO WITHOUT THE US BUT CONTINUED EROSION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES IN ILO.

H) EVEN IF ONE AGREES WITH THE US VIEW OF ILO, IS IT NOT TRUE THAT THE VOTES LIE ELSEWHERE AND THE US POSITION CANNOT BE CARRIED? THE US BELIEVES THAT IF THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES ARE UNITED, AND WITH SUPPORT FROM THE EMPLOYER AND WORKER GROUPS, THE ILO CAN BE TURNED BACK TO ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES AND MISSION. MOREOVER, WITHOUT THE US, THE POSITION OF THE DEMOCRACIES IN THE ILO WOULD BE EVEN WEAKER AND SOME OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MAJOR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTORS, FOR INSTANCE THE FRG AND JAPAN, WOULD FIND THEMSELVES POLITICALLY IN THE POSITION NOW OCCUPIED BY THE US.

I) WHY WITHDRAW FROM ILO WHEN US COMPLAINTS AGAINST ILO ARE AT LEAST EQUALLY VALID AGAINST OTHER UN AGENCIES? THE US EXPECTATION OF ILO IS HIGHER THAN THAT OF OTHER UN AGENCIES BECAUSE THE BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE OF FREE TRADE UNIONS IS INVOLVED. ISOLATION IN ILO ON DEFENSE OF THIS PRINCIPLE IS INTOLERABLE FOR THE US.

J) EIGHTEEN MONTHS IS A SHORT PERIOD IN WHICH TO EXPECT BASIC REFORM IN ILO; IF US ACHIEVES A WORKING ALLIANCE BUT IS UNABLE AFTER EIGHTEEN MONTHS TO BRING ABOUT BASIC REFORM, WILL US STILL WITHDRAW FROM ILO? THE US IS MORE CONCERNED WITH RETURNING ILO TO ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSES THAN WITH INITIATING NEW CHANGES OR REFORMS. BASIC US GOAL IS ALLIANCE OF LIKE MINDED COUNTRIES; HOWEVER IF ALLIES ATTEMPT TO BRUSH ISSUES UNDER THE TABLE OR TO ACCOMMODATE US WITH MINIMUM REQUIRED TO INDUCE US TO WITHDRAW NOTICE OF INTENT, US WILL LEAVE ILO.

K) WILL US PAY ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO ILO? US INTENTION IS TO MEET ITS FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS FOR THE PERIOD IN WHICH IT REMAINS A MEMBER OF ILO.

L) WHAT ARE US LONG-RANGE GOALS IN ILO? KISSINGER LETTER CLEARLY STATES BASIC PREMISES OF US POSITION AND AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN HAS EMPHASIZED UNDERLYING US CONCERN ABOUT RELATIVE ISOLATION WE HAVE FELT IN ILO IN RECENT YEARS. US HAS OUTLINED SPECIFIC ISSUES COMING UP THIS YEAR THAT WILL TEST POSSIBILITY OF COOPERATION WITH COUNTRIES WHO SHARE OUR

PRINCIPLES BUT NO ONE CAN PREDICT WHAT OTHER ISSUES MIGHT
ARISE IN NEXT 18 MONTHS.

M) WILL AFL-CIO RETURN TO ICFTU? US GOVERNMENT CANNOT SPEAK
FOR AFL-CIO.

N) WHY WAS THERE NO CONSULTATION WITH DEMOCRACIES BEFORE
US DELIVERED ITS LETTER OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW FROM
ILO? US CRITICISMS OF ILO IN RECENT YEARS WAS WELL KNOWN.
DEVELOPMENT OF COMMON US POSITION ON ILO WAS LONG AND
DIFFICULT PROCEDURE; WE HAVE CONSULTED WITH OUR ALLIES
AS SOON AS WAS POSSIBLE. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE CONSULTA-
TIONS WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES AND WITH FRIENDLY
LDCS, ESPECIALLY ON ISSUES TO ARISE IN JUNE AT THE ANNUAL
CONFERENCE AND THE WORLD EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE.ABRAMS

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